BLOOD RELATIONSHIP

Beni al-'Amm

101 619 614 The Rwala belong to the large group of tribes called 'Aneze, which is scattered almost throughout the peninsula and is divided into a southern and a northern branch. The southern 'Aneze comprise the tribes from which are descended the Ab-al-Ḥejl, Eben Ṣabbâḥ, Eben Sa'ûd, and various clans of the Ḳaḥaṭân and Muntifeẓ. The northern 'Aneze are the Ẓana Muslim and Ẓana Bišr. The latter includes the Sba'a, Fed'ân, and 'Amârât. The former include the Weld 'Ali and Rwala, who are also known as the Âl Ġlâs. All the tribes and [602] all the clans of the 'Aneze, in the opinion of the Rwala, have a common father and therefore are their *beni al-'amm*, their paternal cousins.

611 602 609 Only blood relationship on the father's side bestows the right of *eben al-'amm*. It is common to hear such a remark as: "His ancestor was not, at a remote period, our relation on the father's side; how could he now be our paternal cousin? *min ḳaddîm ġeddeh mâ hu eben al-'amm čéf jeẓir lena-bn al-'amm*," or: "The Beni Ṣaḥr are more popular with us than the 'Amârât, but the latter are closer to us by blood relationship than the former. The Beni Ṣaḥr are foreigners, we and they have no forefather in common. *Beni ṣaḥr arla' lena min al-'amârât w-lâčen bel-ḳurba haḍôle akrab lena min haḍôlak beni ṣaḥr aġânib mâ lena w-lahom ġidden wâḥed.*"

Ẓbê'ân eben Ḥašmân of the Sirḥân tribe had encamped with the Rwala for more than thirty years (in 1909). He married a Rwala woman, and his sister Maha' married Prince Saṭṭâm, to whom she bore a son, Ṭrâd. Ẓbê'ân undertook warlike expeditions and raids together with the Rwala, he wore their costume, his sons speak like the rest of the Rwala, and yet they still belong to the Sirḥân. Their kin, or *ahl*, is not with the Rwala, but with the people of the Sirḥân. The paternal blood relationship, *'amâm*, and not the [628] maternal relationship, *ḫwâl*, forms the kin, *ahl*. If one of the sons of Ẓbê'ân were to kill one of the Rwala, he would have to seek refuge with his *ahl*, the Sirḥân, and the blood of the Rwejli would have to be expiated with the blood of a Sirḥâni.

602 827 Kinsmen on the father's side are more often needed than those on the mother's side, *'amâmeh alzam min ḫwâleh*. The

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

former give muscular vigor and power, the latter wombs: *'amâmeh 'aṣabe w-ḫwâleh arḥâm.*

Among those connected by blood relationship, *eben al-'amm*, it is prohibited to bind a captured thief, *má 'alejh arbâṭ*, or to attack after midnight or shortly before sunrise, which is the most favorable time for resting; *mamnû' 'alejhom al-bejât w-aṣ-ṣbâḥ*. The blood price is fixed at fifty camels, a mare, and armed equipment.

The blood relationship, *beni al-'amm*, at the wish of the chiefs is sometimes granted to clans who are not related by blood and who derive their origin from quite different ancestors. If the chiefs of two unrelated tribes, *barrâni* (or *aǧnabi*), are favorably disposed towards each other, they proclaim that they will bestow the right of kinship upon each other, *ḥaḳḳ al-beni'am* (or *ḥaḳḳ al-ben'ame* [sic]), as follows: "Between us and you there shall continue the friendship of kinsmen as between kinsmen related by blood; *bênana w-bênakom ṣadâḳat al-ben'ame swât al-beni'am.*" As such it is their duty to protect each other's neighbor, *ḳaṣir*, guest, *ṣeji'*, or fellow traveler, *ḫawi*, even though he should be their actual enemy. It is likewise their duty to acquaint each other with the movements of hostile troops. In reality such a friendship has no value if the chiefs do not pay heed to it. "It is fairly spoken but it brings no profit, *teṣlîḥ al-ḥači min ṣejr manfa'a.*" If a member of one of these tribes kills a man of the other tribe, he does not pay the blood price amounting to fifty camels, such as is the custom with actual *beni 'ammeh*, but only seven, as in the case of unrelated tribes, *aǧnâb*. If a thief from such a tribe is caught, he may be fettered; moreover, such a tribe may also be attacked after midnight, which is not permissible with the actual *beni al-'amm*.

Âl and Ahl

According to the Rwala, their tribe is known as *ḳabîlet* (or *bedîdet*, or *'aširt*) *ar-rwala*, *'aširet* having the same meaning as *bedîde* or *ḳabîle*. The clan and sometimes the kin are denoted by the word *âl*, which is often interchanged with the article *al*, although the meaning of the former is known to every Rwejli. Generally the word *âl* denotes the same as *beni* or *eben*, its meaning being larger than that of *ahl*. *Ferîž* is the

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala Mi

101 name given to a group of kindred descended from the sa
601 ancestor; a *fexiẓ* is also wider than an *aḥl*.

The *aḥl* (for which we shall use the word "kin," i
611 technical sense) is a group fixed in relation to the individ
602 only, a man's kin differing from the kins of his father
son (although all three kins in this case would include many
dividuals in common). A man's kin comprises his descenda
to the third generation — that is, his sons, grandsons,
great-grandsons. It also includes his ascendants to the th
generation — that is, his father, grandfather, and gre
grandfather — and the descendants of these ascendants
the third generation from each. Descent is reckened throu
male lines only. Second cousins are the most remote collate
that may belong to one's kin.

An easy way of determining whether X belongs to
same kin as Y is to count from X up to the common ances
of both X and Y and thence to count down to Y. Provi
not more than five individuals are thus counted between
and Y and provided, also, that the common ancestor is
separated from either X or Y by more than three generatio
X and Y will belong to the same kin. This conception of
kin explains why every Bedouin knows his great-grandfath
whereas of his great-great-grandfather he is likely to be
solutely ignorant. My comrade Blejhân gave me the follow
explanation of his own kin: "I am the descendant of Ẓ
who is descended from Meṣreb. Ẓeri begat Dâṛer and Ṣâ
Dâṛer left Ibrâhîm and Baṛri. Ibrâhîm, my father, left
that is Blejhân, Ǧîʿân, and ʿAẅân, while Baṛri's sons w
Defrân, Rašîd, and Meršed. Ṣâleḥ's sons were named N
and Ǧlejdân. Nedi begat Nejtûl and Ḍijâb; Ǧlejdân had Ne
and Ṣajjâḥ. All these are my relatives, my *aḥl*, and nob
else. My father's *aḥl* reached as far back as Naṣṣâr, the fat
of Ẓeri and ʿAbdallâh, but the descendants of ʿAbdallâh
not concern me at all; they will not protect me and I s
not protect them." Of Naṣṣâr's father Blejhân knew noth
at all, except that he was descended from Meṣreb's kin (
therefore was known as Eben Meṣreb) and that he ha
brother, Maʿrûf by name. But how many generations th
were between Meṣreb and him neither Blejhân nor anyb
in his whole kin could tell. Blejhân counted himself as be
thrice removed from his first-cousin, Defrân (i. e. by (1)
father, (2) his grandfather, and (3) his uncle). Similarly

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

counted himself five times removed from his second cousin, Neǧîb. The older a man grows, the more extended is the circle of his relatives, provided, of course, that he begets sons, for his *ahl* then comprises not only his father and grandfather, if living, and his collaterals, but also his sons and grandsons.

The *ahl* of a Rwejli protects him from injustice and suffers for his guilt. The representative of this blood relationship is likewise known as *ahl*. This representative, that is, the *ahl* in the narrower sense of the word, is usually either the father, the uncle, or the elder brother. Sa'ûd, the son of Prince an-Nûri, had a tent of his own; if he said: "I shall go to my *ahl*," he never went into his own tent but into that of his father, Prince an-Nûri. If the latter was not present, he hastened to his older brother, Nawwâf. A solemn proclamation that somebody has been received into such and such an *ahl* may take the place of blood relationship.

The *ahl al-bejt* denotes the wife of a tent-owner or the wife of his brother, the whole tent being under her control. The phrase *ahl al-bejt* is interchangeable with *râ'ijet al-bejt*, the mistress of the tent. A guest calls for *ahl al-bejt* if he wishes to have a covering for his bed. The Bedouin living in a tent of his own calls his wife *ahl al-bejt*, *ahl bejti*, or *râ'ijet bejti*. If he has children they also belong to the *ahl al-bejt*. The wife never calls her husband *ahl al-bejt* or *ahl bejti*, but *râ'i-l-bejt* or *râ'i bejtena*, lord of the tent, lord of our tent. If she has a little boy, she refers to her husband as *abu flân*, the father of So and So. As long as the Rwejli lives in his father's tent it is impossible to speak of his *ahl al-bejt*, even though he is married and has children. He and his family belong to the family, *ahl*, of his father. If the father dies and his married sons still remain with their families in his tent, it is known as the tent of the sons of So and So, *bejt 'ejâl flân*, or the tent of their mother, if she is alive. The *ahl al-bejt* of such a tent is either the old mother or the wife of one of the brothers who has charge of the tent. If the wife of the oldest brother cannot agree with the wives of the remaining brothers, her husband says to her: "Thou shalt stay in this corner and from today onwards the *ahl al-bejt* (*râ'ijet al-bejt*) will be So and So." Among the Rwala the *ahl al-bejt* is the same as the *'aṣîr* of the other tribes.

In its broader significance *ahl* denotes distinct tribes that are generally united for their mutual protection. Thus it is

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER VII

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

It is the duty of every Rwejli capable of procreation to marry. This duty is laid upon him by his connection with his kinsmen. The more numerous these are, the more power and influence they possess. The individual who refused to defend the rights of his kin would be expelled, and whoever deliberately declined to multiply its defenders would meet the same fate. Without his kin, *ahl*, the Bedouin would be the most wretched of beings. 581 602 183

To marriage the Rwejli is led by mutual inclination or love. A boy of twelve has a liking for a girl of the same age, and it is generally recognized; no one objects. It is said: "Love comes from Allâh, *al-maḥabbe min allâh*." The boy calls on his beloved in her tent, talks with her there, helps with the work, and the parents recollect the time of their first love. An older boy may join his sweetheart where and whenever he wishes to. He helps her water the camels, draw the water, strike and pitch the tent; he attends her on the march, and pays her a visit in the evening. Usually they meet in a tent that is either vacant or little visited. The Šarârât women whose husbands are serving as herdsmen or who are widowed gladly lend their small tents, *ḫarâbiš*, for the lovers' meetings. There in the cold seasons of the year they sit all night by the fire, parting only when the morning star makes its appearance. In the warm season, especially when camping in the Nefûd, the lovers sit down on a sand drift in the shade of a tall *ṛaṛa* bush to talk of everything and nothing. Their love they declare to each other in these words: 584

"Thou art the slumber of mine eyes, *enti nowm 'ajni*; thou art my desire, *ent murâdi*; thou art my food and drink, *enti akli w-širbi*; thou art my creed, *ent dini*," and so on.

The enamored Rwejli likes to say: "I wish to fast and pray, but only in honor of those with loosened hair; in honor of Allâh's countenance I shall not pray; *ana-ṣûm w-pelli lâ-ǧâṭet al-'aḏâriš w-illa lwaǧh allâh mâni mṣalli*." Or: "I will not

with tattooed patterns in imitation of various jewels. 12. *"Jâ zejm ḥâli*, Oh, gone is my reason!" is the cry of one surprised or dazed by something. *Ẓeraf*, saucer or tray, was pronounced by Ǧwâd as *zeraf*. 14. *Mraffa'a* is a slender, delicate one. *'Ûd al-mejs* is a sapling or sprig of the cherry tree, which grows wild in al-Belḳa', where the poet was camping. From these very flexible sprigs stems are made for smoking pipes known as *ṛaljûn*. 16. *E'reẓûneh* means, properly, "extend or stretch out the limbs" to enable the poet to see them better. 17. *Ḳâni* is the name given by the 'Adwân to the kinsman whose duty is to avenge wrongs done to his kin. He who has no kinsman and thus no avenger is subject to all misfortunes, like a captured Moslem carried by the unbelievers to foreign lands.

1. *Jâ sîn jâ umm 'aḳâb jâ sîn jâ sîn*
   jâ miṯl 'anz ar-rîm temši waḥadha
2. *mâ la'ebat as-summejr bên al-ferîžên*
   w-lâ ḳaṭṭ ab-al-'amalât râwaz wa'adha
3. *w-lâ ǧarrat al-ṛaṭrûf bemiḍneb al-'ejn*
   w-lâ 'ala-l-ǧîrân tûmi bjadha
4. *ḥalaft ana w-allâh dînen baṭar dîn*
   w-ḥajât min hw beš-šwâber lakadha
5. *en šâfaten za'lân lâzem terazzîn*
   miṯl aš-šefûḳ alli telaḥleh waladha
6. *ǧatni 'aṭa mâ seḳet biha meṭâmîn*
   šimet ḥamûle kill men ǧa' ḥamadha
7. *jâ 'aḳâb wa' ḥazzi defentah benimrîn*
   bḥadd al-wa'ar jâ 'aḳâb bemustanadha
8. *'ejâli ṛadaw jâ 'aḳâb ḫamse ma' eḫwên*
   w-lâ žîl 'ejni sâhera min reḳadha
9. *mâ hammani jâ 'aḳâb ṛejr alli wên*
   alli čema rîḥ al-ḫzêri ǧesadha
10. *mâ zâṛ ḳalbi 'an hawâha w-lâ al-'ên*
    w-en zaṛzaṛat 'ejni ǧazâha ramadha
11. *low ǧann banât al-bedw jâ 'aḳâb ṣaffên*
    jâ-ḫaj mâ-ḫoḏ ṛejr waẓḥa waḥadha.

1. Alas for my loss, O 'Aḳâb's mother, my loss!
   Alas for her, who like a white gazelle used to walk all alone!
2. She never took part in the amusement of *summejr* between the two camps,
   And not once did a gallant dare to ask her to a tryst.

2;Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Kwala MD4

Chattering and evildoing,
I would fain, when a slanderer comes to the Arabs,
Take his measure and make my dearest ready,
So that we might saddle our strong she-camels, mount
And ride directly for al-Ḥôr and Ṣfajje. [them,

The lover wants to settle with the slanderer and then depart with his beloved, Nîra, for the inner desert. The price Nîra's kin ask for her is very high; in order to pay it, the lover wishes for a hundred yellow she-camels.

Ačileh means "take his measure, settle with him"; *učajjel*, prepare, make ready, load, weigh. Al-Ḥôr is a depression in the center of al-Ḥamâd; the Ḥabra Ṣfajje is located there.

Jâ zejd lâ taẓreb al-maḥbûb
hw ṣâḥebi w-ent ḳowmâni
ḥowse low žaržarat aṭ-ṭowb
lâ jâ ba'ad kill ḥajjâni.

O Zejd, do not beat my dear one!
She is my friend, thou mine enemy.
When Ḥowse lifts her garment,
Oh, that I may live longer than the whole kin!

Ṣâḥeb means a friendly tribe, *ḳowmâni* a hostile one. *Žaržarat aṭ-ṭowb*: she raises the dress covering her breasts in such a way that they show through the enlarged slit. If a girl or a woman wants to encourage her kinsmen to the greatest bravery in a dangerous fight, she does so not by words alone but also by significant deeds. So, for instance, she opens her dress on the breast as a sign of how she means to reward the bravest. Her lover then forgets everything else, only wishing not to perish in the fight, in order that he may enjoy the promised reward. *Lâ jâ ba'ad* means "Oh, that I may not be absent, that I may not die." *Ḥajjân* are the kinsfolk, who keep together even in a fight.

Jâ wanneṭi wannejṭaha
w-an-nâs mâ darjaw baha
lâ wâḥani min ǧâẓa'aha
bên al-berîm w-ṭawbaha.

This is the lament which I utter,
And none knows of it;

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

by marrying the daughters of other chiefs. After six months or, at most, one year they divorce their young wives, regardless of whether they have borne them children or are pregnant, and marry another girl or woman, so that they never have more than one wife in the tents.

According to common opinion, a man should divorce his wife as soon as the one becomes disagreeable to the other. As the proverb has it: "Reproach a herdsman or a wife with nothing; if thou hast occasion to reproach them frequently, thou hadst better dismiss them; *ar-râ'i w-al-mara la tenâḳerhom elja tabṛi tenâḳerhom daššerhom.*" When divorcing a woman the man says to her: "Go away! See, now thou art divorced and may attach thyself to another man! *Kowṭeri ṭaráḳ ṭâlež w-ar-raǧǧâl 'âlež.*" Or he says: "Thou art free altogether. Thy saddle cover is spread over thee! *Ḥaẓra` maẓi 'alejḳ ǧelâleḳ.*" This means that in the same way as a saddled mare may be ridden by any one, any man may marry a divorced, and thus perfectly free, woman. The divorced wife gathers together her dresses, pillows, blankets, and rugs, saddles her she-camels, and loads her property. Just as she is about to depart the man says to her: "As soon as thou reachest the tent of thy kin and settest foot in the tent of thy kin, thy divorce will overtake thee in the tent of thy kin, *elja waṣalti bejt haleḳ ṭalâžeḳ jeǧiḳ jâṣelḳ ila bejt haleḳ.*" for on the way from her husband's tent to that of her parents she is still under his protection. The moment she enters the tent of her kin, she breaks definitely the ties binding her to her husband and belongs to her *ahl*, kin, and to no one else. As long as her father is living, he is the representative of the whole kin for the divorced woman; after his death her eldest brother is the representative. If there are no brothers, the duty falls to the nearest relative, either an uncle or cousin.

The divorced woman may be remarried three times by her former husband. If he will not remarry her he proclaims: "Thou art divorced three times, *enti ṭâlež beṭ-ṭalâṭ al-ḥawârem.*" The man who divorces his wife without claiming what he has paid to her relatives may limit her freedom, *jeḥaǧǧer taḥǧir*, by stipulating: "I let any one have thee except So and So, to him I will not give thee; *an-uḥallič likill aḥad 'oḳob flân* (or *kowd flân*, or *ṛejr flân*) *mâni mḥallič leh.*" Or he may say: "Anybody may take thee but So and So, *an-uḥallič likill aḥad ja 'oḳob* (*ja kowd* or *ja ṛejr*) *flân.*" When a man

Z:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

become his wife. Finally Nawwâf himself advised her to consent, comforting her with the hope that Mišref would free her immediately after the wedding. Then she answered: "I shall not disregard the counsel my father and my brother give me nor act against their advice, *ana mâ-ṭla' min šowr abûj w-aḫûj w-lâ-ḥâlef šowfathom.*" On the wedding night she escaped from the round tent, *ḥeǧra*, and would not allow Mišref to come near her. After becoming Mišref's wife she admitted that she was in love with Mamdûḥ eben Saṭṭâm and resolved to remain a virgin until she could marry him. Mišref, who loved her greatly and was now suffering not only from jealousy but also from the sneers of his friends, gave vent to his anger by beating her and swearing that he would never give her back her freedom.

A woman in fear of a beating leaves the tent and follows the first man she meets into his tent, or she may enter any tent, where she asks for protection. There she may stay as long as she pleases. Such a woman is called *za'lâne*. The owner of the tent sheltering her will never ask her to leave or to return to her husband's tent. The latter will, as a rule, send some relative or servant to her. When they return to him with the information that she is inclined to be reconciled with him, he waits for her at the time of the next moving, leads her camel to his tent, where he makes it kneel, and says: "Enter the tent! *ʃûti-la-l-beiṭ.*" The wife obeys without further ado and takes up her work as if nothing had happened. But if the man is really angry with the woman who has run away from him to another tent he will not send her word to return to him; he ceases to care for her and pretends not to know her at all. Such a woman is to be pitied, indeed. Her husband is not obliged to feed or clothe her, because she has left him voluntarily; neither will he divorce her without receiving compensation, and her relatives are vexed with her for the disgrace she has put upon them. If she is not young and pretty, nothing is left to her but to work as a servant in some tent; if she is, she looks for some one to elope with her and thus help her to freedom.

In the case of dissolutions of the marital bonds as here described it is not always easy to return to the man his bride's dowry, if he has paid it in full. For her relatives may have already divided the amount among themselves and may be unwilling to restore it or make compensation. The woman

586 who desires to be released for a compensation is called *'ajûf*.
562 All she can do is to appeal to the sympathy of her kin. She
602 calls on either her father, brother, uncle, or cousin, pleading: "I do not want him! Return what you have received from him!" But they try to evade her request with the words: "Go back! Thou surely wilt get used to him!" She, however, keeps on begging until she finally persuades one of them to help her. If she does not succeed and they all refuse to do anything for her, nothing remains for her but to elope, for should she seek protection from others against her own kin the father or brother could kill her, as she is considered to be the property of her father. He begot her, and her brother inherits her from him.

A man who divorces his wife, even if she has stayed only one night with him, must give her a camel and a pack saddle, *ḥedâǧe*. Nobody has the right to take these away from the woman thus divorced, *muṭallaḳa*. Yet anything in addition, *karam*, received from her husband his heir may demand back. The trousseau bought for her by the husband belongs to her only. In case she has young children she takes and cares for them till the age of seven; then they return to their father's tent.

587 In the later stages of pregnancy the divorced wife may
851 remarry at once. If her pregnancy is not yet visible, she has
691 to wait at least six months, *ḥcha 'edda*, and as soon as it is clear whether or not she bears the seed of her husband in her womb, she may become the wife of another. The Rwala fear quarrels and lawsuits regarding the paternity of a child born after a married couple has separated and therefore require the woman to wait. The disregard shown by the chiefs for this rule is often a cause of protracted litigation.

851 Thus, to give an instance, the chief Fahad eben Hazzâ'
584 eben Ša'lân divorced his wife, whom before long another chief, Ḫalaf âl Iḍen, took to his tent. After about a year she gave birth to a boy to whom she gave the name of Ṭrâd and who grew to maturity in the tent of his father; but when he was about to marry he quarrelled with his father and moved to another tent. This was due to the story told him by his old slave that he was not the son of Ḫalaf but of Fahad, who had in the meantime become the prince of the Rwala. To Ṭrâd Prince Fahad naturally seemed much grander than a small chief like Ḫalaf, and therefore he at once went to him,

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

cannot meet the demand and her kin will not help, the lover can only elope with her. Then they seek refuge either with the Šammar between the middle Euphrates and Tigris, or with the Lhejb in the vicinity of Aleppo, or, perhaps, with the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwest border of the Ḥawrân. Once there the lovers care not in the least for either the husband's or the wife's relatives. An elopement carried through successfully dissolves the marriage as completely as a divorce itself. The eloper may now make the woman of his heart his lawful wife but must not return with her to his kin before a reconciliation with her former husband and relatives is effected; otherwise he would expose both himself and her to taunts of every imaginable kind. Therefore he sends to them one messenger after another with entreaties for a reconciliation, which, however, is not easily attained. The former husband is generally obdurate much longer than the woman's kin. These accuse the husband of having himself caused the elopement by his unwillingness to let her go and also because he was unable to guard her better in the first place. They sometimes go even as far as to threaten that they will demand from him compensation for staining their honor, should he not forgive both the lover and the wife with whom he has eloped. For has she not been carried away from them as much as from him? And was he not her proper guardian and protector? The deceived husband must not kill either the eloper or the woman, for then he would furnish a reason for revenge. An elopement of a married woman is brought about by stratagem, not by force, and stratagem is not punishable with death.

If a plain but healthy girl cannot find a husband, it is the duty of her nearest kinsman with whom marriage is permissible to marry her; should he refuse he would be a butt for jokes among all his kin forever. In this manner a girl of al-Wiṯre (or al-Wuṯara), subject to Ebe Fâ'ûr of the 'Ebede tribe, was married in 1909.

PENALTIES FOR UNCHASTITY

Whoever accuses a female, whether girl or woman, of unchastity and cannot prove it, forfeits his hand; this is cut off by a kinsman of the accused. If he puts himself in good

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

camels into his own herd and waits till some ʿAḳejli comes to claim them. Thus a brother's eye cares for the ʿAḳejl even during their absence, *ʿajneh warâhom*.

BLACKSMITHS

In the opinion of the Rwala, Allâh created with the first Bedouin also the first smith, *ṣâneʿ* (pl., *ṣunnâʿ*). Every camp and every settlement of inner Arabia has its blacksmith who works for the whole clan or for the whole oasis. Often the same blacksmith family has camped with the same clan from time immemorial and yet cannot be adopted by it, for the *ṣunnâʿ* remain strangers forever. Among themselves the blacksmiths form kins of their own, and the blacksmiths of the Rwala are relatives, *beni al-ʿamm*, of all the blacksmiths in Arabia. They live in almost the same way as the Bedouins or settlers and are subject to claims of vengeance among themselves; but they never make war or take part in raids, even as allies of the Bedouins. During an attack on the camp where their tents stand they go on with their work unconcernedly, defending neither themselves nor their neighbors, for they have their brother, *aḫ*, in every tribe whose duty it is to return to them anything of which a member of that tribe has robbed them. Among the Rwala a member of the Âl Miġwel kin is the brother of the *ṣunnâʿ*. If a Bedouin does any wrong to a blacksmith, the latter complains to Eben Miġwel, who must put matters right. When the raiders bring along, besides other booty, camels bearing the *ṣunnâʿ* brand, their brother takes them all into his herd and sends word to the blacksmith of the raided tribe: "Your camels are held by me." They then come, pick out their animals, and return home with them. But if camels branded with the mark of the brother's tribe are found among those of the *ṣunnâʿ*, he returns them to his tribesmen. For his trouble the brother keeps every fifth animal as well as such as are not claimed by the owner blacksmith.

The *ṣâneʿ* not only shoes horses but repairs rifles, daggers, etc., and often makes new rifles, fine sabers, and spears, for there are many good artisans in his craft. For shoeing a horse he will make no charge. His reward is a two-year old she-camel, *heźźe*, for every horse captured and all the horse saddles brought home from the raids, which he then

2:Musil S-4,5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

aid him in obtaining his rights *jimašši-l-ḥakk*. First he goes to the accused and asks him to return the stolen weapon or to declare on *ǧehîra* oath (see above, p. 430) that he has stolen nothing. Should he refuse to do either, the protector will declare: "Behold! So-and-So resists, although the weapon belonging to X is in his belly. The she-camels for whom the latter has asked my protection from this day are his own. Beware everyone who would take them away from him. Behold! they stand before my face."

His honor, his good name are the principal motives of a Rwejli's charity. There is nothing he fears as much as dishonor to his good name and a reflection on his character, or, as he says, the blackening of his face. Should he fail to guard his protégé effectually, to get compensation for him who walks before his countenance, should he disregard his guest: in all these cases he is threatened with the blackening of his face. The wronged man then ties a black rag to a long stick or to a spear and cries:

"This is the black flag of So-and-So. I put myself under his protection and he has not freed me; I suffered loss before his face; I was his guest and he has not fed me. May Allâh blacken his face! *Hâḏi ṛâje sowda' flân eben flân daḫalt 'alejh w-lâ fakkni râḥ riẓki bwağheh mâ 'aššâni sawwad allâh wağheh.*" Naturally the people are eager to learn the details and on hearing them run to the accused to mete out justice.

PROTECTION FROM OPPRESSORS; RECOGNITION OF BENEFACTORS

If a man of power oppresses a weaker one and the latter is unable to defend his honor himself, he ties a piece of black tent cloth to a stick or spear, rides around the camp of his kin, and shouts:

"My friends, O ye people who give protection! know ye that my face has been insulted by the powerful So-and-So; *'ub'i jâ hla-l-ḥamijje ḳaṭṭa' wağhi flân al-belijje.*"

This is a sign to his kinsmen to mount their horses or camels and to parade before him shouting their battle cry, *je'arẓûn 'endeh w-jentaḫûn*: "X, behold, here I stand before thee, O X! *jâ flân 'ajnêk* [sic] *jâ flân.*"

When all are assembled, they tear up and throw away the black flag, surround the tent of their powerful neighbor,

578 and compel him both to right the wrong done and to give
●602 compensation.
627 When he has complied with every demand, the powerful man now asks his weaker opponent to declare this publicly. When that is done, he ties a white cloth, *šowra*, to a stick or spear, just as was done with the black material before, and makes a circuit of all the camps in the vicinity, waving his flag and crying:

"We have done our duty, *ḳażejna lâzemna*."

This he does in order to inform all the wronged one's relatives that a reconciliation has been effected, for otherwise he might be attacked by some of them. Moreover, he wants all his fellow tribesmen to know that no further reproach may be brought against him.

703 A white flag is also flown by a grateful enemy in honor
577 of his benefactor. Whoever on a raid or in a fierce fight or when being pursued has been saved from certain death, on his return flies a white flag in front of his chief's tent and says:

"So-and-So — may Allâh whiten his face! — on a day when life was nearing its end and death was stepping forward, saved the neck which moves here before you. Oh, may Allâh whiten his face! *Flân bajjaz allâh waǧheh jowm akfat al-ḥajja w-akbalat al-menijje fakk ar-rukubat al-mâlijje*."

Then two of the assembly stand up, inquiring: "Whose is the white flag flying here? *lemin hal-bêẓa al-mabnijje*."

"It belongs to So-and-So, may Allâh whiten his face!"

"We testify that he is deserving of a white flag. He is a brave youth who acted, as he did, with deliberation. Hail to him, by Allâh himself! *Jistâhel al-bêẓa ṛlâmen ʿana-lha w-hejh hejh jâ lallâh*."

From the chief's tent the news of the honored man's deeds spreads through the whole camp, the guests present, of course, bring the news to other camps, and before a month is out the main topic of conversation at all the camp fires for hundreds of kilometers around is the story of how X has saved Y from certain death.

BEGGARS; LOST ARTICLES

735 There are no beggars among the Rwala. An impoverished man is helped by his kin, his clan, and the chief. And yet sometimes beggars are to be seen walking through the camps.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

CHAPTER XX

VENGEANCE

The report of a death or murder causes a stir not only in the camp but throughout the clan and even the whole tribe. The nearest female relatives of the dead person tear away the buckles holding their shirts under the neck, scratch their faces with their fingernails, besmear them with ashes and sand, cut off their braids above the temples, wind a narrow white kerchief, *kẓâẓa bêẓa*, around their heads, and run out of the camp either south or north into the desert, where they cry three times: "Ah, woe is me! O thou father of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-bujjâ.*" Or: "Ah, woe is me! O thou little brother of mine! *wa' wejla jâ-ḫujjâ.*" The white kerchief they wear on their heads for at least a month. This is called *kaffâl.* 763

The men of the whole camp run out to the dead body, examine the wounds, and discuss the manner of death. Those who are not his kin on the father's side, *aǧnebânijje*, return to the camp, watch their tents, send out the news to the pasturing grounds and the nearest camps, and take care that neither they nor their herds come between the avengers and the culprits. 628 614 602

The guilt rests on the whole kin, *ahl*, of the murderer; vengeance also becomes the duty of the whole kin of the dead man.[11]

AVENGERS AND PROTECTORS

The whole kin is bound to mutual protection, both aggressive and defensive, *jeṭred w-jenṭared.* The more distant relatives, i. e. those who are in the fourth and later generations from the ancestor common to themselves and the culprit, generally offer the avengers a two-year-old camel, *ḥeżż*, and are left in peace.

The avengers are called violators, *ahl as-saṭwa*, or those who carry on blood feud in defense of the culprits, *ṭallâbt addamm*, while the culprits are spoken of as the blood-stained, *damwijje, dûmijje.* The avenger proper is generally the nearest healthy adult relative of the murdered man; the first culprit

[11] See above, pp. 47—53.

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

628 is the murderer himself; should he die a natural death in the
614 meantime, his next of kin is considered the culprit. However,
602 for the first three days after the murder nobody pays the least attention either to the avenger or to the perpetrator. These three days are called the seething of the blood, *fowrt ad-damm*, or the anger, *za'al*, fury, *rejz*, or madness, *kar'a*. The avengers ride out on horseback and camels to seek the guilty ones and their herds. If they meet a little boy, an adult, or even an old man of the culprit's kin, they kill him; if they meet their mares or herds, they cut their arteries below the knees of the forelegs, *je'ažžerûnaha*, but must not drive them away captive.

No one of the perpetrators must defend himself, for then he would be deserted by his whole clan and even by the whole tribe. The defense is to be left to others. Therefore the culprits proceed with all haste possible to one of the more powerful chiefs to ask his protection. The first one to reach him cries:

"Behold, we ask Allâh and thee to protect the hair of our heads from So-and-So, as well as the herds on our borders; *tarâna blawbak* [*bellâh w-bak*] *'an al-flân behafâfna w-aṭrâfna*."

The chief answers: "Welcome to us! May Allâh save your lives! Ye are saved. Your pursuer has already halted. *Ahlan w-sahlan ḥajjâkom allâh w-selimtu w-ḥâb ṭâlebkom*."

The protector then calls his slaves, servants, and his whole kin, hastens to the tents and herds of the guilty kin, loads the tents with everything that is in them on camels, carries them away, and drives the herds between his own tents. To the avenger he calls out:

"Behold, your blood shedder has put himself, according to ancient custom, under our protection; so beware! *târa' dûmikom daḫal 'alejna 'ala-s-swâni al-'atîža ḥassekom nafsekom*."

The avengers then inquire: "Wilt thou let them stay with thee a short while only or for several days?"

"Beware, I tell you, and guard your hands from committing violence!"

"We know well, tribesman, that thy protection is powerful, yet thou art not a protector of little girls, *'anejsi*, therefore wilt not protect culprits forever, *mâ tezebbenhom ha'*."

"How many days truce will you grant me?"

"We will grant thee four [twelve, at the most] days."

During the truce the chief loads the guilty men's tents and accompanies them and their herds to another chief. Should the avengers refuse to allow the culprits to go with their pro-

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

tector to another tribe, their fellow-tribesmen will intercede in his behalf and compel them to abandon their vengeance altogether. For they have blackened the face of the protector and exposed themselves in turn to his vengeance.

In the desert there are chiefs, the descendants of famous kins, whose protection is universally known and respected, or, as the saying goes, whose face insures a safe journey, *wağhahom mâši*. Such are especially Eben Ṛubejn of the Fed'ân tribe, Eben Ğandal of the Rwala, and Eben Ṭajjâr of the Weld 'Ali. These send only a slave or servant with their protégé, whereas others accompany their protégés in person. The protector leads the culprits to some chief who is camping in the direction in which they are fleeing and hands them over to him with the words:

"Behold, these are shedders of blood. I protected them from So-and-So, and now, hear me, I put them under thy protection. My duty will now be thy duty."

The new protector answers: "May Allâh keep both thee and them alive! They are saved, and their pursuer will return without achieving his object!"

From here they are conducted by the chief himself to another protector and emerge at length from the desert either among the Lhejb, who dwell north of the al-Ḥaṣṣ and Šbêḫ mountains, or among the Šammar âl Ğarba, who camp between the middle Euphrates and the Tigris, or, finally, among the Sirḥân and Beni Ṣaḫr on the southwestern borders of the Ḥawrân. The camps of the tribes here named are universally recognized as places of refuge, where the culprits are tolerably safe. Now known as *ğelwijje* or *ğallâje*, they pitch their tents there and pasture their herds like everybody else. In case the members of a camp harboring the *ğelwijje* catch sight of a strange Bedouin prowling around, they bring him before the refugees to see whether they happen to know him. Should he be recognized as belonging to the avengers, the natives tie his hands behind his back or fetter his legs with horse chains and at last kill him, if there is nobody to intercede for him.

ARRANGEMENTS FOR PAYMENT OF THE BLOOD PRICE

After some time the chief of the camp where the culprits have found refuge sends to the chief of the avengers this message:

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date) 1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

SPECIAL CONDITIONS OF VENGEANCE

628 The wife, daughter, or sister of the culprit is never per-
672 secuted by the avenger. If his sister or daughter is married
562 to a man not a member of the culprit's kin, he also will be
spared.

614 Should a woman commit murder, her husband is not subject
602 to vengeance if he is not of her kin. He paid for her what her relatives asked, they have kept the payment and thus become liable for her misdeeds. The responsibility for the moral offenses of a woman is borne by her husband, but her material good or evil is the concern of her kin, *ḥaṭâjâha w-aṭâmîha berḳubt ar-raǧol ḥejrah w-šarrha lahalha.* The person whom the married woman can most inconvenience is her own brother; hence the proverb: "The brother of a married woman is far removed from any good done by her, but very close to any evil she may be guilty of; *aḫu sirre baʿîd ʿan al-ḥejr žerîb ʿan al-meẓarra.*" If, therefore, the married woman commits murder, her brother is considered to be her chief accomplice. Her kin will flee, while she will remain calmly with her husband, unless he divorces her. The blood price is paid by her kin out of their own means. If she has received a few she-camels from her husband out of his surplus, *damâʿanteh,* she cannot use them for paying the blood price without his consent, because he gave her the animals for her own benefit and for the good of the children she has borne him, not for the benefit of her kin.

Again, should anyone kill a married woman, it is the duty of her brother to avenge her, but the husband demands com-
683 pensation. He who strikes a pregnant woman so that she
843 miscarries, *ramat,* before the seventh month of her pregnancy,
628 while it is impossible to recognize whether the unripe fruit of her womb was of the male or female sex, must pay twenty-five she-camels. If she miscarries in her seventh or eighth month or, as they say, hurries on the birth, *istaʿǧelat,* and the prematurely born child dies, the compensation for a boy amounts to fifty, for a girl to twenty-five she-camels. Should the mother also die, twenty-five she-camels more must be paid. These are taken by the woman's kin, the husband receiving what was paid for the child.

682 The husband who has paid for his wife in full, may kill
628 her without making himself liable to pay the blood price to
562

2:Musil S-4, 5 (no date)1928 MD4 Rwala MD4

539*

Já ḫajefîn min al-manâja
min ǧâh melek al-mowt mât
al-mowt mâ fakk as-sabâja
jâḫoḏ ṛanâdîr al-banât.

O ye who fear death! [know]
That he whom the death angel visits dies.
Death, however, cannot free captured she-camels
Yet can take those who always linger with the girls.

Ṛanâdîr are elegant youths who from love of the girls remain at home instead of going out on raids.

Jâ ḫâjefîn min al-manâja
al-mowt mâ ǧâ' leḥ naḏîr
al-ḫowf mâ fakk al-ḥabâri
w-lâ ṭawwal al-'omr al-ḳaṣîr.

O ye who fear death! [know]
That death is not preceded by a herald.
Fear cannot rescue the *ḥabâri* birds [from the falcon's talons]
Nor prolong life, short as it is.

Jâ-ḥal as-sebâja rûsehen
elja' mâ 'amâmi jelḥaḳûn
naḳḳâlaten šurul al-'aǧam
ḏabbâḥaten mâ jarḥamûn.

O riders! ye plunderers, pull up the heads of your mares
Till my uncles come,
Who are carrying arms of Persian make,
Who only slay and know not mercy.

Ahl as-sebâja has the same meaning as *ahl al-ḫejl*, horse riders who throw themselves on the herds and then drive them away as their booty. With *rûsehen eẖbeṭû* is understood: "lift up the heads of your mares." In order to stop the galloping mares the reins are pulled up short, which makes them raise their heads and slacken their pace. They are to wait till overtaken by their paternal uncles—that is, by their kinsmen, as maternal relatives are not considered kin if not related to the father in some other way. The Persian-made weapons are mainly swords, broad spears, and daggers.

[492] [602] [411]